a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others. 439 [114]

The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (matsthabidshi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods. 222

Payment for Services

A payment for services was given to midwives (dameduqetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure: If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed. 465

The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services. [476]

125 questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates
157 comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed
554 (1960, 369-78) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organ-
602 ization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, espe-
128 cially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men co-
[54] operate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the
[476] society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social
128 structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by
104 a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance. Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

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The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W [183] 496 [574] [735]

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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W [161]

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [477] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [179] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he